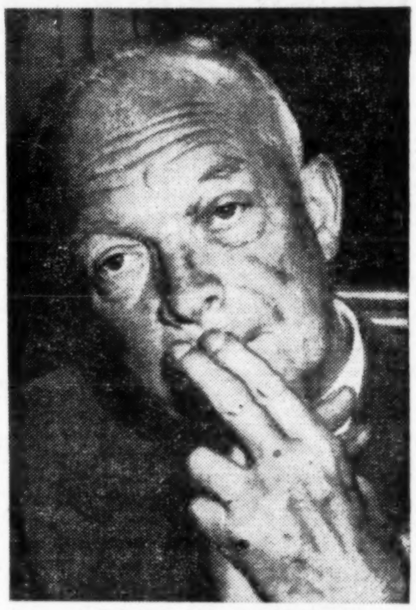
NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
5 cents
Vol. 4, No. 51 NEW YORK, N. Y., OCTOBER 9, 1952

Guardian photo by Bernard

VINCENT HALLINAN & CHARLOTTA BASS

THERE IS A CHOICE: the Progressive Party, for peace and decency (above) — or the two old parties, for more Koreas and more witch-hunting (right). The article on this page explains why a vote for either Stevenson or Eisenhower is a vote for war.

ADLAI STEVENSON



DWIGHT EISENHOWER

WAR & PEACE

How both the old parties are trying to mobilize the American people for war

By Tabitha Petran

A NATION-WIDE survey by author and political analyst Samuel Lubell (N. Y. **World Telegram,** 9/30) found that in this election

> . . . the real questions troubling the American people are the problems of war and peace, of threatened depression and further inflation.

Last week the GUARDIAN documented Washington's fear of mounting public disgust with the Korean War, showed that both old-party candidates' silence on ending it masked military plans for a bigger war in Asia.

Daily Mirror, Los Angeles

NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD!

To overcome this popular opposition to war, and to direct growing mass discontent against those who oppose war, is the chief goal of both old-party campaigns. Stevenson acknowledged this when he said (Louisville, 9/27) that maintaining present policy

> . . . is far more important than who wins the election. . . . Let us not place victory in a political campaign ahead of national interest.

How are the old parties trying to mobilize the people for war?

Reversing World War II

Ignoring the immediate issue of war and peace, both parties are talking about the last war, trying to put over a rewritten history of it. This was the significance of Truman's denunciation of Eisenhower last week for saying in 1945 that the U.S. and Russia could "remain the closest possible friends." The **GOP** denunciation of the **FDR**-Truman Administration for having sent Lend-Lease to Russia. Stevenson's boast that he saw the Russian menace before Fulton. Eisenhower's charge that World War II could have been avoided and "two whole decades of our national life" have been "partly poisoned" by the FDR-Truman attitude toward communism. The attack by Gen. Bedell Smith, head of Central Intelligence Agency, on FDR's 1943 "unconditional surrender" policy toward Nazi Germany, amid assertions that Communists today have penetrated every security agency in Washington.

John O'Donnell, once awarded the "Hitler Cross" by FDR, pointed out (N. Y. **Daily News,** 9/30) that these interchanges added up to giving "at long last" the real

> . . . picture of the fantastic Roosevelt war era of '39 to '45 in which for some insane reason this nation backed the Russians . . . and did our best to destroy the Teutonic might which through the centuries has been the shield of Christian civilization against the Asiatic hordes.

A necessary step in preparing another crusade "against the Asiatic hordes" is to turn upside down public judgments of World War II.

"Dynamic ideology"

A year and a half ago Edgar Snow wrote (**Nation,** 3/10/51) that it was hardly conceivable that NATO's

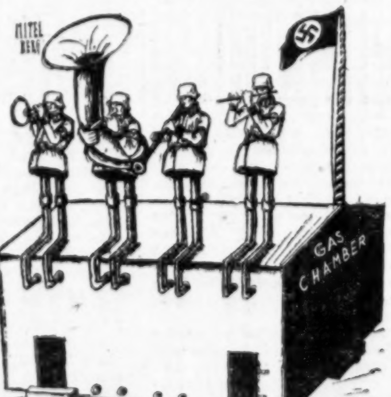
> . . .gigantic military burdens will be tolerated indefinitely, or even for a few years, by the American and Western European peoples for purely passive or defensive slogans. . . . We must expect a "dynamic" ideology to be found to justify this costly activity—one with positive political aims which promise to eradicate for all time the basic conditions requiring the sacrifice of so many vital human needs. . . . [The] "positive political aims" of the mobilization may soon be openly defined as the liberation of all countries under the Kremlin's yoke — including, eventually, Russia itself.

Both old parties are trying to develop such a "dynamic ideology" to harness the people to the war drive. This was the meaning of Eisenhower's inflammatory American Legion speech (8/25) calling for "liberation" of nations "now suffering under the Russian pall."

IT'S NOTHING NEW: Last spring John Foster Dulles brought the "liberation" slogan out into the open, calling for "dynamism" and "to roll back a tide of despotism" (6/22). "Liberation" was written into both old party platforms. Far from opposing Eisenhower's trumpet call, Stevenson called it

> ". . . an endorsement of the European policies which this government has been following and with which they have been closely identified."

Horrified reactions in Europe forced the lowering—temporarily—of the "liberation" trial balloon. But both parties pursued the development of a "dynamic ideology," though somewhat differently.



Drawing by Mitelberg, Humanite, Paris

"From now on, French soldiers serving in Western Germany are required to salute when 'Deutschland Ueber Alles' is played" (French press report).

Republican demagogy

In September, with the Eisenhower campaign still on the ground, the Republicans—inspired by the McCarthy landslide in Wisconsin—went all-out for his "communism and corruption" chant. Corruption exposures left the people cynical (Lubell, **NYWT,** 9/30), ripe for the irrational hatred and fear which the "communism" charges aimed to generate. "The hate-mongering element of American politics," wrote Thomas L. Stokes (St. Louis **Post-Dispatch,** 9/17) "has again become rampant and is spoiling for a national witch-hunt." Eisenhower, said the **Nation** (10/4), has made himself the champion of this element.

Eisenhower also began the dangerous game of playing on the widespread fears of war and depression. He accused the Administration (10/3) of using war to make jobs, prop the economy; saw

> ". . . no future for America in economic policies that depend upon the stimulus of war and threat of war to create and maintain prosperity."

He promised to cut taxes, restore the value of the dollar, stabilize the economy on peace. But he also promised to continue arming the U.S. and its allies; to push "a more dynamic foreign

(Continued on Page 3)

Where Hallinan stands

VINCENT HALLINAN met three news correspondents on CBS-TV's program "Where Do You Stand" last week, gave this picture of where he stood:

KOREA: "It is nonsensical that . . . American boys should be killed and maimed so that Communist prisoners can have the right to decide whether they will go back home."

REPUBLOCRATS: Both big parties are "captives of Big Business," committed to war in Korea because Wall St. fears economic consequences of peace. (When newsmen said they heard that line before, Hallinan agreed, quoted Woodrow Wilson making the same point.)

GERM WARFARE: "No more infamous than dropping jellied gasoline on women and children." Since the U.S. spends millions on BW research, if they haven't used it, why haven't they? They probably have.

SMITH ACT TRIALS: Government has used "hired perjurers . . . professional witnesses," secured convictions on "evidence that would not convict a pickpocket. . . . One of the dirtiest chapters in American history."

PP: Governed by "fixed principles," dominated by no other group, welcomes support of CP and anyone else who agrees with its platform.

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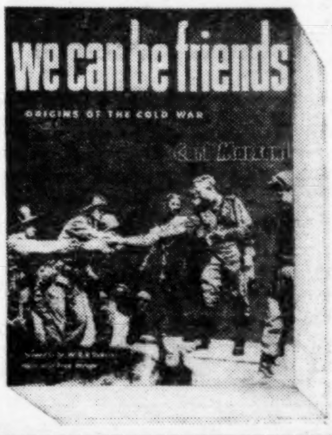

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See Review by Cedric Belfrage on p. 12 of this issue

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Telephone: WOrth 4-1750.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S and possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $2 a year. All other countries $3 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 5c. Reentered as second class matter March 17, 1950 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 4, No. 51 — 178 — OCTOBER 9, 1952

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AS FOR ANYBODY ELSE who has read down this far, the free book offer is open to you, too, during October only if you care to renew in advance. In this connection, we urge everyone to obtain and read Carl Marzani's "We Can Be Friends" as quickly as possible. As campaign ammunition it's the top.

—THE EDITORS

Statement Required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as Amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) Showing the Ownership, Management and Circulation of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, published weekly, at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1952.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.; Editor, Cedric Belfrage, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.; Managing Editor, James Aronson, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.; Business Manager, John T. McManus, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

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3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: 47,374.

JOHN T. McMANUS,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 25th day of Sept., 1952.

FAY KAHN, Notary Public.
My commission expires Mar. 30, 1953

THE MAIL BAG

Stevenson and Stone

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I believe everyone should be heard on the issue of I. F. Stone and Stevenson—essentially a position of betrayal.

Stone in the N. Y. Compass maintains that Stevenson may rally round him those elements of peace, and thereby bring a halt to the cold war, thus eliminating the hot one from possibility.

Fundamentally, what must be the crucial point in the lesser-evil argument? It can be only that Stevenson can not merely slow down the cold war but MUST BE ABLE TO RESERVE IT BESIDES!

Stone must prove three things: (1) that in and available to the Democratic Party the forces of peace are greater than the forces of war; (2) that these peace forces have thus far been silent; (3) that Stevenson is the only man in the only party who can cause them to reveal themselves.

But to debate along these lines Stone must inevitably offer defeat. Because if the peace forces in the Democratic Party are greater than the war forces, why haven't they shown themselves already? Why are they silent now, yet expected to be vocal after election? If these peace forces in the Dem camp don't exist, what could Stevenson do himself wthout popular support? If Stevenson hasn't come out for peace now, how do we know he will later? How also do the reactionaries read in Stevenson the very opposite of what Stone reads?

I think Stone has taken such an untenable position because he has a "great man" approach to history. This is obvious now—when he ignores a popular movement as the basis for peace. It was obvious at other times, such as when Stone wrote glowingly about the manner in which Churchill was coming to America to tell Truman that England was going to discontinue following the U.S. war lead. Stone wrote dramatically then about Churchill's independence of thought. He said nothing when his "great man" crawled home to England. What would he say if Stevenson crawled home to Baruch, or someone similar?

Reader

Heart

BELLEROSE, L. I.

Sorry I'm late and thanks for sending the paper though my sub was due last month. Keep up the good work. I always enjoy the paper and take heart from it. It is one of the few remaining weapons in the arsenal of the progressive.

Bernard Sloane

If one apple costs . . .

SAN JOSE, CALIF.

It is unfortunate that the ruling class has all the facilities to clothe our minds with the status quo. Everyone is born with a mind as naked as his body. They begin with the piggy bank then, at school first example, Johnnie buys an apple for 4c and sells it for 5c, how much does he make? Next: poverty is precious, no difference how much or how acquired. And how they fall for it The man who takes the most from society is the man who has the biggest funeral The poor man who has worked his life out asking nothing from society but food and clothing wouldn't even be buried if he didn't stink.

M. E. Bryant

How crazy can you get dept.

LONDON (AP)—Killing people with atomic bombs is a very cheap operation, a British mathematician said in a technical journal published today. It works out at a rate of about one pound ($2.80) per corpse. . . . The cost of killing in World War II was "several thousand pounds" per victim. . . . A well placed atomic bomb could kill 25,000 persons, so that it offers an economical means of wiping out populations.

Hollywood Citizen-News, Sept. 26.

Free one-year sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Ethel M. Stubbe, Hollywood, Calif. (Several readers sent same item from other cities; earliest postmark wins.)

Profligacy and prudency

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Did Tom Paine have the Democratic and Republican parties of today in mind when he wrote (to George Washington) in 1796:

"The chief difference, however, between the two is (for in politics there is none) that one is profligate enough to profess an indifference about moral principles, and the other is prudent enough to conceal the want of them. . . ."

Leon Forer

Wall St. Journal

". . . You are easily taken in by all sorts of silly mechanical gimmicks."

The Koreans have had it

PORTLAND, ME.

To any citizen of our free land who may still be able to get a passport to travel, I pass on this unanimous advice from passengers on a British freighter here from S.-E. Asia, interviewed by the Portland Evening Express (9/25): "If your face is white and you want to enjoy old age, stay away from S.-E. Asia."

Some of their comments: On Indonesia — "anti-white sentiment is violent . . . it was risky in many places for tourists to venture ashore at night." On Malaya — ". . . a powder-keg, with Communist-dominated native groups threatening to upset the status quo at any moment." One passenger said an American major told her he "attributed most of the Red influence in the Far East to the Koreans . . . who can't be trusted as far as I can throw a bull by the tail."

R. E. Carles

Save a place

ELBOW LAKE, MINN.

Am sending you a batch of subs, and enclosing a $10 bill for your GUARDIAN birthday party. I suppose you will have a banquet; please reserve a plate for me at the table. Not in person, but in spirit.

I am enclosing a pamphlet of James M. Youngdale, who is running for Congress from the 7th District. He is a progressive, very dependable young man.

S. O. Bartness

In Battle For Peace

CHICAGO, ILL.

It is 3 a.m. and I have just finished In Battle For Peace by Dr. DuBois. It is one of the most intelligent and inspiring documents I have ever read on the struggle for peace in America and around the world. Dr. DuBois is an old timer in the peace movement and is someone whom we can all learn a great deal from. I would like to encourage every GUARDIAN reader to read this book and then pass it on.

James Barushok

The unclean tooth

LEESBURG, FLA.

"His record (Nixon's) must be clean as a hound's tooth" . . . but Ike didn't mean it. That was just for blinkers. So, with a quick look around to estimate what the traffic would bear, ignoring right and wrong and casting principles to the winds, the great man, with a hearty "That's my boy!" and all the dramatic effect he was capable of, clasped the Innocent Lamb to his breast—hoping the worst was over and probably saying to himself: "Lord, that was a close one!"

Floridan

Need tooling up

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Copied from the Los Angeles News:

"The Gift Box on Broadway near Brand in Glendale specializes in religious statuettes, prayer books and the like. It has this window sign: 'In these days of earthquakes, flying saucers, atom bombs, brother, you better start praying. We have all the tools you need for the job.'"

Can you equal this anywhere? Sounds like an ad in the Weekly News, date 1451, Rome, Italy. Let me know what luck you have with the gadgets, will you?

W. P. C.

100 per cent

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Congratulations for a job well done to all of your staff. This paper is one in a million, both from a makeup and a literary standpoint. I also thank God that there are a few people left who will stand up not only for their own rights, but for those of the little guy as well. I'm with you 100%.

Paul A. Ernst Jr.

DO YOUR XMAS SHOPPING THRU THE GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

JACK LEE

John H. (Jack) Lee, field organizer for the Progressive Party of Massachusetts, died in New York Sept. 21 at the age of 30. A veteran of World War II, member of the Boston NAACP, and trustee of the Walls Temple A.M.E. Zion Church of Roxbury, Lee was a tireless worker for Negro rights. The Boston Chronicle, Negro weekly, said of him: "He won admiration for his self-sacrificing zeal even from those who differed with him profoundly. . . . He had a natural gift for bringing together persons of diverse racial and national origins for the serious purpose of elevating the entire American people to the dignity of equality."

Five clergymen, Negro and white, participated in the funeral services Sept. 26 in Roxbury. Surviving are Lee's wife, Mrs. Teresita Cappell Lee and two children, Michele Enid and Frederick Douglass Lee.

Both old parties driving for war

(Continued from Page 1)

policy," which—he reiterated last weekend (10/5)—aimed at

> ". . . liberation of the ens'aved peoples [since] the free nations of the world can never be safe and secure while the other half of the world lives under oppression."

WAR'S "ENNOBLING SPIRIT": Similarly, Eisenhower pretended to hold out hope of early withdrawal of U. S. troops from Korea, with the slogan "Asians fighting Asians" which quickly became the GOP theme song. But the N. Y. **Times** (10/5), pointing out that there is no present hope that the South Koreans can "defend themselves," chided Eisenhower for not making clear that:

> Any implication that an early withdrawal of American troops is possible will merely deceive our friends and our foes alike, with potentially disastrous consequences.

Tailored to win votes, the general's demagogy on peace and jobs was also designed to leave the people, lifted temporarily by false promises, more frustrated than ever—with their bitterness channeled by a high-powered advertising machine against communist scapegoats. How far Republican demagogy has gone in the campaign to prepare the people for war was seen when Dulles warned (10/15) that the time "of peaceful opportunity is fast running out"; that never before has a major war been averted when tension between great powers has reached "the degree that now prevails." Dulles added:

> "Only war itself brings out our keenest vision, our highest competence and our most ennobling spirit."

Stevenson's "new" philosophy

Yet it is Stevenson who has stated most clearly that war is inevitable, devoted most effort to selling the war and its hardships to the people. Said he, talking of the war as already begun:

> "We can keep up the fight against this monster tyranny . . . as long as we have to and we will."

Warning—in words recalling the late leader of an earlier anti-communist crusade—that "the anti-Christ stalks the earth . . . organized communism seeks to dethrone God from his central place in this universe," he called on the nation to defend

> ". . . the right to be free . . . against the mightiest forces of evil ever assembled under the sun."

Stevenson preaches the Nietzschean-Nazi philosophy of the glory of struggle and sacrifice. At Chicago (9/29) he said:

> "Struggle is the primary law of life. You struggle and you survive. You fail to struggle and you perish. The ways of the world are marked with the bones of people who hesitated."

He offers "no easy solutions, no relief from burdens and anxieties" (Louisville, 9/27). Calling for "something better—work and sacrifice" so America can "save civilization," he cited William James' credo:

> "'When we touch our upper limit and live in our own highest center of energy we may call ourselves saved.'"

RECIPE FOR FASCISM: The philosophy of pragmatism fathered by William James, defining truth "as only the ex-

pedient in the way of our thinking just as the 'right' is only the expedient in the way of our behaving," became one of the bibles of fascism and nazism. Mussolini wrote that it was

> . . . of great use to me in my political career. James taught me that an action should be judged rather by its results than by its doctrinary basis. I learnt of James that faith in action, that ardent will to live and fight, to which fascism owes a great part of its success.

Stevenson, wrote Joseph C. Harsch (**Reporter**, 9/30/52), "preaches a new pragmatism." The "new pragmatism"—philosophical cloak for Washington's program of world dominion—has been hailed by liberals and intellectuals as the sign of a new Lincoln or FDR.

LIBERALS DO HELP: Today, Harsch wrote sadly, the liberal "is neither wanted nor needed in the posts of leadership and policymaking on the national stage. He is a surplus commodity." But for the "new pragmatists" the liberal does have a function: to weaken the opposition to war here and abroad. Harsch noted that in Europe "the fear that we Americans have forgotten liberty . . . has almost reached the pathological stage." One job for the liberal is, he said, to convince our European allies that we still "keep the torch of liberty aloft"—that is, weaken European resistance to Washington's policy.

The "lesser evil" doctrine propounded by some liberals and erstwhile progressives is doing the same job at home: confusing and weakening the opposition to war. The "lesser evil" concept is itself a doctrine of expediency, based on contempt for people and the power of people acting together.

Two forces against war

The decisive fact in the U. S. today is that the American people—after seven years of intensive propaganda, and despite all-out efforts of both parties to break their resistance to war—are still in the main opposed to war and want peace. The "lesser evil" school would dismantle the one party that gives them an opportunity to express that opposition.

Reynolds News, London

"Remember, Brother Binks, the Chancellor said we Labour delegates must exercise moderation and restraint!"

In Britain a similar effort to undermine mounting resistance to Washington war policy by the "lesser evil" doctrine is being made. At the Labour Party annual conference last week, "Bevanites" scored a decisive triumph in winning 6 out of 7 seats reserved for the constituencies on the Natl. Exec. Committee. Defeat by only a 3-2 majority of a Bevanite resolution to reduce the arms program was further evidence of the anti-war movement's growing strength. The party's Attlee wing demanded that the Bevanites give up the fight for the sake of "unity" which, they said, was the only hope of Labour victory in the next election. Were the Bevanites to agree to yield—for the sake of the "lesser evil" of a Labour victory—British opponents of the war drive would have no way of registering their opposition.

SOVIET CONFIDENCE: Two major blocs stand across Washington's road to World War III: the strength of the socialist world; growing opposition of the peoples of the capitalist and colonial world.

In Moscow last week Stalin calmly warned the West that an attack on the U. S. S. R. would mean the end of capitalism, repeated that the U. S. S. R. would attack no one; he added that war among the capitalist powers was inevitable. His statement and Moscow's demand for recall of U. S. Ambassador Kennan, wrote N. Y. **Times** Moscow correspondent Harrison Salisbury (10/15), were a "powerful" demonstration of

> . . . Soviet confidence in the system of life that Russia leads and, in particular, Moscow's confidence that this system is quite capable of an economic existence independent of the capitalist countries and of a political existence despite hostility and antagonism from the U. S. and America's supporters in the world arena.

Salisbury predicted that the 19th Congress of the All-Soviet Communist Party "will really mark an epochal step in Soviet history." The week's events, he said, in informed opinion "mark a Soviet declaration of independence from the Western world system. . . ."

WESTERN PEACE "DANGER": The growing opposition to war throughout the capitalist and colonial world was described last month by the AFL's European representative Irving Brown, who told the AFL Convention that in Western Europe today there is

> ". . . an almost dangerous state of calm. Relaxation has set in which includes demands for a reduction of the rearmament tempo, a trend towards neutralism and appeasement and an almost pathological recoiling from any allied program of the initiative based on the ideological offensive towards the Soviet Union. . . . This atmosphere of neutralism and appeasement is breeding new so-called peace movements."

Brown added that "the failure of Western policy is most clearly seen" in the Middle East and North Africa.

In this election the Progressive Party is the only party that gives Americans an opportunity to cast their vote with the overwhelming majority of the world's peoples, who demand peace, and who—with the help of the American people—can get it.

Stalin keynotes Moscow CP Congress

THE 19th All-Soviet Communist Party Congress—first in 13 years—opened in Moscow this week, attended by 1,200 Soviet delegates and many Communist leaders from other countries. Business before the Congress is a revision of party rules and organization and the Five Year Plan already launched in 1951. Opening the Congress were G. M. Malenkov and V. M. Molotov, who outlined the development of the international situation since the war.

Keynote of the conference was set last week with publication in the magazine **Bolshevik** of a 50-page article by Premier Stalin on economic problems of socialism. Incomplete excerpts published here indicated Stalin discussed chiefly the basic problems involved in the transition from socialism to communism. He also discussed the "disintegration of a united all-embracing world market" which has "determined further the deepening of the general crisis of the capitalist system," and warned that war among the capitalist powers is "inevitable" so long as imperialism continues to exist.

In a clear warning, Stalin said that war by the capitalist countries against the Soviet Union "must put the question of the very existence of capitalism."

Gabriel, Daily Worker, London

"A good thing they've arrested more of those Reds—they're always causing trouble at home with their talk!"

"THOUGHTFUL READING": N. Y. **Times** correspondent Salisbury (10/4) said the Congress would sound "a note of high triumph and mighty strength," and added (10/5):

> Mr. Stalin's analysis of the foreign situation and in particular the tensions among the capitalist countries is expected to provide thoughtful reading for citizens of Western Europe. . . . [Its] effectiveness will undoubtedly be shown at the all-Asian "Peace Conference" in Peiping [Peking], which is expected here to solidify general Asian opposition to the American line in Korea and strongly reinforce that of Communist China and the Soviet Union.

In the family

This column will appear from time to time to tell you what's going on in and out of the GUARDIAN office to build our paper: the ideas people have and how they're putting them into practice. All readers are invited to send items to "In The Family."

WE told you last week about the 20,000 new 4-for-$1 subs that have poured in: Up at the top of the list of sub-getters is the San Diego IPP, with a sure-fire method. A. M. Stevens writes that they mimeographed a "National Guardian Public Opinion Poll" which asks: "How do you feel about the high cost of living and constantly rising prices?" At the bottom of the questionnaire is this:

> If you wish to follow the election campaign, and will help with a donation of 25 cents or more, we will send you the NATIONAL GUARDIAN each week for the next 12 weeks.

How did it work? Stevens writes:

> "Going from door to door I can get 30 to 70 subs a day. But we waste considerable time because people in working-class neighborhoods are away during the day. Tomorrow I'm going to try a variation. I'm going to set up shop in the downtown shopping center, probably right outside one of the department stores. It seems to me we should be able to double our subs.

THE IPP City Terrace Club in Los Angeles is runner-up to San Diego in the 4-for-$1 drive. . . . Helen MacMartin reports that there were 54 Vermont subscribers in June; there were 92 in September . . . Texas is setting up a state-wide GUARDIAN drive. There are already GUARDIAN clubs in Fort Worth, San Antonio and Houston. . . . Flash! We now have a subscriber in Paducah, Ky., Alben Barkley's home town.

OUR KIND of a guy is H. G. Bolander who runs the Belair Market in Baltimore. He's 62, says he "can't retire because there's too much to be done and the workers so few." Some give out cigars, he says, but he had 1,000 Hallinan-Bass pencils made to give away at meetings. His market is plastered with Peace and Progressive signs. On checks with which he pays his bills he scribbles messages like: "We'd very much rather have peace, so bring the boys home." The bank tried to stop him but he went to court and won his fight. The checks never bounce; neither do the sentiments.

ONE OF OUR best boosters is Fred Blossom of the World Events Committee, E. Palatka, Fla. They publish Scott Nearing's quarterly news commentary **World Events**. Fred wrote last week (a wonderful idea):

"We are enclosing in all outgoing letters and packages a printed slip:

> NATIONAL GUARDIAN is the best newsweekly U. S. A. ever had. Let's build it up and make it powerful FOR OUR OWN PROTECTION. $2 a year. 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. (If skeptical send $1 for 30 weeks.)

Says Fred: "We will be glad to send a reasonable quantity to anyone sending postage and saying how many."

DONALD WILEY (Hartford, Conn.) says he passed a copy of NG to a "sweet little girl." She didn't like it. He asked why. "No dirt in it," she said. . . . From China, from a young woman who studied in the U. S., then went home to work, comes the other side: "Thank heavens you don't try to sandwich your stimulating stories between layers of cheesecake pictures; it never works." . . . Letters still coming in telling about the lift people got on the West Coast from hearing Cedric Belfrage and Tabitha Petran. The lift is taking the form of new subs. Wish we could spare them for more missionary work in the field. But we need them too.

THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE AND THE CHICAGO BOSSES

Is Stevenson an Arvey-made man?

By Lawrence Emery

ADLAI STEVENSON has studiously fostered a public image of himself as immaculately aloof from grimy machine politics, as a fearless independent beholden to no man—not even Harry Truman. But without machine politics—and Jacob M. Arvey's Cook County (Chicago) machine is the most potent of them all—there would be no Presidential nominee Stevenson in 1952. Following the Democratic convention, the AP reported:

> If anybody could claim credit for masterminding what Mr. Truman said was a "real, honest-to-goodness draft" of the nominee, it was Jacob M. Arvey, Illinois National Committeeman.

Charles Lucey, Scripps-Howard staff writer, wrote on Aug. 21:

> He [Stevenson] has the savvy to know good public administration often depends on support of a well-muscled political outfit. . . . The Stevenson-Arvey relationship has been friendly. The governor and Mr. Arvey have consulted often. The Chicago leader has stayed overnight in the executive mansion at least once or twice.

INDISPENSABLE PORK PIE: Stevenson himself has hailed Arvey's "dynamic leadership," had this to say after two years in office:

> "Although I have not altered my views about the waste and inefficiency of patronage systems, I understand better than ever before their relationship to the continuous operation of our indispensable two-party system."

Jack Arvey, a poor boy, grew up in Chicago's brawling, wide-open 24th ward, learned law at night, got into politics early and rose to alderman and park commissioner. In the city council he was floor leader for the old Kelly-Nash machine, later became an equal partner with Kelly, still later acquired enough power to replace Kelly with the present Mayor Martin H. Kennelly. Today Arvey is a millionaire and a kingmaker.

Last August Arvey vacationed in Southern California; in a local interview he denied he had engineered the nomination of Stevenson, of whom he said:

> "I have never met a man in my life who, in my opinion, has the qualities of greatness this man possesses."

LISTEN TO SIDNEY: Arvey and a friend were guests of honor at a party in Hollywood's swank Mocambo. The friend: Chicago attorney Sidney Korshak, who had felt a need to make a voluntary appearance before Sen. Kefauver's crime committee in Chicago. He denied any political association with Arvey, described their relationship as "purely social." He also denied that he was an intimate of Charles (Cherry Nose) Gioe, once convicted of a million-

JACOB M. ARVEY
The quality of greatness. . . .

dollar extortion racket against the movie industry; they just happened to live in the same hotel owned by Alex Louis Greenberg, described by the Chicago **Tribune** as "known as the financial brains of the Capone-Nitti-Ricca mob." But at Gioe's extortion trial, Willie Bioff, a convicted panderer, testified Gioe introduced him to Korshak:

> "Willie, meet Sidney Korshak. He is our man. I want you to pay attention to Korshak. When he tells you something, he knows what he is talking about. Any message he might deliver to you is a message from us."

Comments the Chicago **Tribune,** which supports neither big party candidate (Aug. 30):

> The friendship between Korshak and the man who made a governor and had more to do than any other man with making him the Democratic nominee for President is worth a moment's reflection.

A NASH NAMED PAT: The GUARDIAN's Sidney Ordower recalls one Stevenson appointment:

> Pat Nash, nephew of the famous elder Nash of the Kelly-Nash machine, was appointed public administrator for Cook County, a job reputed to be good for $50,000 a year. Nash is a big power in local politics and the appointment was an indication of how Stevenson intended to play ball with the machine.

CAN YOU STOP SIN? Stevenson boasted recently that as governor he had "knocked out commercial gambling" in the state. Even as he spoke the U.S. Internal Revenue Bureau was releasing figures proving that illegal gambling in northern Illinois alone is a $25,000,000 a year business. The estimate was based on payments under the federal gambling tax law. But since most gamblers evade the tax, some observers place the annual take at $100,000,000. Stevenson's choice for his successor as governor, Lt. Gov. Sherwood Dixon, conceded last month that gambling has not been "knocked out":

> "How could anyone put a stop to all gambling any more than to all drinking, all law breaking, all sin?"

There was sin a-plenty during Stevenson's term. The story of lax law enforcement resulting in the death of 120 miners at W. Frankfort, Ill., in a preventable explosion was told in the GUARDIAN (Aug. 14).

• Stevenson's executive assistant, the late James Mulroy, resigned because of his involvement in a get-rich-quick race track scandal (he got $1,750 in dividends on a $100 investment); the Democratic minority leader in the house was also tied in with it.

• Stevenson's personal appointee Charles W. Wray, head of the food and dairy inspection service, is now under indictment for accepting bribes to overlook a hoodlum-run racket in which millions of pounds of horse meat were sold for pure beef.

• A counterfeit cigarette tax stamp racket which cost the state millions of dollars rocked his administration; three state employes were fired when they refused to take lie detector tests, a fourth resigned.

HORSE MEAT & COAL: Latest Stevenson story is the private fund with which he augmented the salaries of eight favored state officials. Chicagoans were particularly interested in the names of donors to the fund; the Chicago **Tribune** cites some of them:

> Among the contributors were contractors and businessmen who later obtained contracts from the state. There also are others with special interest in state activities, such as the regulation of legalized racing at horse tracks.
>
> One contributor's name and address tallies with that of a man indicted on charges of conspiracy in the horse meat scandal which has involved at least one top state official. . . .
>
> Another is that of a man widely known in Chicago as an ex-operator of handbook joints and the holder of the mortgage on the late Al Capone's home in Miami. . . .
>
> Stuyvesant Peabody Jr. of the Peabody Coal Co. gave $500. In the last four months of 1950 alone the Peabody Coay Co. got $489,352 in coal contracts from the state.

Peabody, a close personal friend of Stevenson, was appointed by him as chairman of the State Racing Board.

THAT $100,000: There are other funds not yet explained. On Sept. 25 Stevenson's former state purchasing agent revealed that "at least $100,000" in political contributions was collected from companies supplying the state in 1949 and 1950.

On Sept. 30 the N. Y. **World-Telegram & Sun** reported that Walter Eadie, Stevenson's state mining director, admitted personally handling $10,700 in political contributions from the 80 employes in his department, including the 24 safety inspectors. Before his appointment, Eadie had been the underground manager of the mine where 120 died.

On Sept. 29 the Chicago **Tribune** reported that state pressure had been put on state coal mining firms in 1949 to raise a special fund of about $3,000.

Last week there were new revelations about the fund Stevenson made public, naming the donors and the recipients—none of whom was happy at the publicity. Stevenson, his sister, and attorney Louis A. Kohn, one of Stevenson's closest aides, had contributed $17,000 to his campaign chest. When other contributions came rolling in, they repaid themselves.

Stevenson and his running mate now have the full endorsement of another machine. E. H. (Boss) Crump of Memphis, Tenn., gave them this blessing:

"They are men of fine character and high reputation."

Inside John Sparkman

SEN. John J. Sparkman of Alabama, Democratic candidate for Vice President, who never joined the Dixiecrat walkout, explained why in a radio address April 17, 1950. Here are excerpts:

> "There are some parts of the [Democratic] platform that I will not accept, that I will not support. We do not have to sacrifice any of our convictions. I am against the civil rights proposals, always have been and always will be. One of the first votes I cast upon going to Congress 14 years ago was against one of these bills. Almost every year since then I have voted against such proposals.
>
> "Even though the Democratic platform as well as the Republicans carried a pledge for civil rights legislation, no such law has been enacted and I predict that if you do not take away from us who represent you in Congress the power that is ours . . . as long as we can operate as Democrats on the inside . . . there will not be any such legislation.
>
> "After all, civil rights legislation is not defeated by Dixiecrat maneuvers in Alabama nor by threats of the formation of a splinter party. In the past it has always been defeated on the floor of the Senate. There and there alone must we look for its defeat in the future.
>
> "We Southern Democratic Senators . . . 21 of us . . . are banded together and pledged to use every parliamentary device possible to defeat civil rights legislation. And listen to this: Every single one of these 21 Southern Democratic Senators believes that we should stay in the Democratic Party. We know what our most important weapon is; it is the ability to work as Democrats."

THE LAW

Browders are jailed for non-cooperation

TO many last week the motive of the government was obscure in the arrest of Earl Browder—deposed as head of the Communist Party in 1945 and expelled the next year—and his Russian-born wife. They are charged with four counts of perjury in connection with Mrs. Browder's naturalization proceedings. But to Hearst reporter Howard Rushmore, one-time movie critic for the **Daily Worker** and a witness against the Browders before the grand jury that indicted them, the motive was clear; he wrote in the N. Y. **Journal-American:**

> He [Browder] has consistently refused to cooperate with the government or to testify against his former comrades.

U. S. Atty. Myles J. Lane made it even plainer; in opposing release of the Browders on their own recognizance, he told the court:

> "As far as I know, the Browders have never tried to cooperate with the government on Communist matters."

Such non-cooperation meant jail; unable to raise $2,500 bail each, the Browders wers still in cells this week.

THE BACKGROUND: The Browders were married in Moscow in 1926; Raissa Browder came to this country in 1933. She was ordered deported in 1940, but the order was later revoked. In 1944 she left the country, re-entered legally the same year, filed for citizenship in 1946. Three years later she was recalled for further questioning. She and her husband are now charged with lying then when they asserted under oath that she had never been a member of the Communist Party. The indictments were returned just two weeks before the statute of limitations would have outlawed prosecution. Atty. Gen. McGranery said:

> "This is still another step in the program of the Dept. of Justice of patient, thorough, intelligent effort to protect our internal security against those who would tear down the freedoms which our constitutional form of government guarantees."

William L. Patterson, natl. secy. of the Civil Rights Congress, said:

> "I unqualifiedly protest this harassment which includes in its target a woman with American-born children [the Browders have three sons]. It is an attempt to foster hysteria and terror. The door to the breaking up of families through prosecutions on citizenship papers was opened recently with the Bridges and Smith Act frame-ups."

A **Daily Worker** editorial said:

> This paper's estimates of Browder's views are well known, but this does not and can not affect its unrelenting opposition to the vicious McCarranism which uses citizenship and passport regulations to manufacture prosecutions.

MRS. YATES GETS BAIL: By last week a few of the 18 persons arrested in the latest round-up of Smith Act victims in three states were free on bail reduced from $40,000 and $25,000 to $10,000 and $5,000. In Los Angeles Mrs. Oleta O'Connor Yates, one of 15 convicted there under the Smith Act, was finally free on bail pending her appeal after a week of efforts to keep her in jail because of an additional sentence for contempt of court.

N. Y. DEFENSE OPENS: In New York the defense of 13 Smith Act victims (two others were freed a week ago for lack of evidence) finally got under way. Defense atty. Mary Kaufman in her opening statement said it will be shown that the Communist Party is not a conspiracy but a democratic party the major purpose of which is

> ". . . to convince the American people of the need for a people's coalition government strong enough to halt the drive toward war and fascism."

LAWYER FOR NELSON: At long last Steve Nelson last week had a lawyer to defend him. (See Nelson's story, page 8.) From Oakland, Calif., Bertram Edises set off for Pittsburgh to handle Nelson's Smith Act case when it goes on trial Oct. 14. Edises is well-known on the West Coast as a labor and civil rights attorney since 1941. He was formerly a lawyer for the Natl. Labor Relations Board.

Stepped-up efforts to win Nelson's release on bail pending his appeal from his "sedition" conviction were reported last week at a Mid-Western Conference of the Civil Rights Congress meeting in Pittsburgh.

POLITICS

McCarthy landslide: what does it mean?

OF ALL the straws in the political wind, none was being scanned more anxiously than the effect of the sweeping victory of Sen. McCarthy in last month's Wisconsin GOP primary. McCarthy doubled his 1946 vote.

Until the Wisconsin primary Gen. Eisenhower was thought to regard McCarthy as a liability. He said he would support all GOP candidates but could not personally endorse men who followed "un-American and improper" methods. But last week McCarthy joined him on his train for his Wisconsin tour.

In Milwaukee McCarthy was in the fifth car behind the general in the parade; he scooted his car into second position, much to the annoyance of Gen. Kohler. In Green Bay the general said the differences between him and McCarthy have "nothing to do with the end result we are seeking."

WHAT HAPPENED? Gov. Stevenson seemed to have one eye on Wisconsin during his Chicago "deskside chat" in which he delivered his call to arms against the "anti-Christ" of communism, disappointing some of his liberal supporters who had seen in him a possible advocate of "peaceful co-existence" with the Soviet Union and an enemy of witch-hunting at home.

Herblock in Washington Post
Nothing exceeds like excess.

The major campaigners quickly read the Wisconsin straw to mean that McCarthyism had in fact swept the nation and required their support for election. A more sober view was expressed by H. H. Wilson, member of Princeton University's Dept. of Politics, who wrote in **The Nation** (Sept. 20):

> . . . It would be extreme to say that we are moving toward fascism. But it is not extreme to say that American society shows certain characteristics which it would be generally agreed are not those of a confident society strengthening its democratic institutions and reaffirming its faith in democratic values.

He explained McCarthy's victory by itemizing growing U.S. regimentation, insecurity, the compliance of union and agrarian leadership, the press, radio, TV and movies which "spin records of political emptiness."

CONFUSING CAMPAIGN: The GUARDIAN queried Wisconsin lawyer and Progressive Party leader M. Michael Essin for an interpretation. He wrote:

> We progressives do not consider that McCarthy's victory was an index of general thinking throughout the country. We say that without meaning to whistle in the dark. McCarthy's position on peace was equivocating and diffuse, sufficiently so to cause many people to believe that he was against the war in Korea and for a peace program. McCarthy's position against the draft of the sons of farmers also appealed to the farming communities in a state which is essentially agricultural.
>
> What happened to the traditional Democratic vote in Milwaukee Co.? (McCarthy in the GOP primary polled more than the combined vote of all Democratic candidates.) There is a very large Polish community in Milwaukee County, the largest single nationality group. It is devoutly Catholic and closely controlled by the church. This group generally has voted Democratic. Arthur Bliss Lane, former U.S. ambassador to Poland, spent several weeks in Milwaukee speaking to these Polish groups. In substance, the theme of his line was "a vote for McCarthy is a vote against Russian aggression in Poland." The Polish wards went overwhelmingly for McCarthy.
>
> There is also a large German population in Milwaukee and particularly in the central and northern counties. McCarthy's defense of the Nazi perpetrators of the Malmedy massacre [in which American captured soldiers were murdered] met with at least tacit support and approval among that group. The central and northern counties turned out a tremendous vote for McCarthy.

END TO SANITY? Len Schmitt, McCarthy's chief opponent in the GOP primary, Essin said, was relatively unknown in the industrial areas. He topped McCarthy in only two counties, his own and Douglas Co., where progressives are most active.

McCarthy's line was duplicated almost exactly by Democrat Henry Reuss, a sure winner until toward the end of the campaign when Thomas Fairchild entered the race and won. Many liberals who otherwise would have switched to the GOP balloting to vote against McCarthy stayed with the Democrats to vote against Reuss.

Another factor, Essin wrote, is that

> . . . in 1946 reactionaries and alleged liberals joined hands in a drive to remove progressive leadership from the trade union movement in Wisconsin and destroy the progressive unions.

Wm. T. Evjue, old-line Wisconsin liberal editor of the Madison **Capital-Times**, said his state had yielded to

> . . . fear, hysteria, and demagoguery after holding fast to sanity and reason for so many years. [Communism was used as] the perfect scareword with which the entrenched order can club the American people into submission and conformity.

One McCarthy voter, George H. Hunt of Stevens Point, explained in a letter to the **Capital-Times** (Sept. 25):

> If it is a question of choosing between a McCarthy who may have a private life worse than Cleveland's, a public life worse than the entire Harding Administration and may have been guilty of assassinating a few characters in Washington and the State Dept.—as opposed to leaders in our military and government who sacrifice 112,000 casualties without their knowing for what they are fighting and dying or any hope of it ever ending—I take McCarthy.

MORE ON NIXON: GOP Vice Presidential candidate Nixon was still having trouble with closet skeletons. Though he asserted, in his "Dick Faces Life" television show, that he accepted a private slush fund to avoid using taxpayers' money for political expenses, his campaign manager **Murray** Chotiner last week admitted that Nixon had sent out 23,000 pre-convention campaign letters on government frank.

One Democratic strategist said the party would "get back to" Nixon when the "emotional jag is off."

Less publicized was an incident involving Nixon publicized by the Baltimore **Afro-American.** It charged that Nixon, in buying his $41,000 Washington home, had signed a restrictive covenant not to sell or lease to

> . . . negroes [small n] or any person or persons of negro blood or extraction, or to any person of the Semitic Race, blood or origin, which racial description shall be deemed to include Armenians, Jews, Hebrews, Persians and Syrians.

NO FIGHT: The absence of real differences between Stevenson and Eisenhower had become glaringly apparent last week. Garet Garett, writing in the **Wall St. Journal** (Sept. 30), said:

> What of the orphaned and disembodied issues that wander about in political space like ghosts? They will be there still, no matter who gets elected. First, a war in which we are trading American for Asiatic lives with neither end nor victory in sight. The candidates, it is true, have talked about Korea but in a very cautious manner, because apparently neither one of them can think of anything to do about it — at least nothing that can be said out loud.

On domestic economy Garrett said the candidates are like

> . . . diagnosticians who have agreed beforehand on one point. They will ignore the fact of cancer. . . . Both of the candidates make noise; the real issues sleep in silence.

HUMANISM ON THE STREET-CORNER SOAPBOX

Meet Corliss Lamont, ALP Candidate for Senator

By Elmer Bendiner

SCHOLARS do well on street-corners, the American Labor Party finds. Two years ago the ALP brought to the campaign stump the learned, universally-respected Dr. W. E. B. DuBois who can handle himself in any political rough-and-tumble. This year the ALP choice for N. Y. Senator is philosophy professor Dr. Corliss Lamont.

At his office-headquarters-apartment near Columbia University where he lectures, Lamont seemed pleased to run in DuBois' footsteps. He said: "Dr. DuBois and I haven't been armchair inellectuals."

In fact Lamont finds it hard to stay put in his armchair at all. He leaps to the telephone to keep abreast of his campaign, to refer to the books that line his walls, the pamphlets that are stacked on his couch and every available table-top. He is elbow-deep in galley proofs of his latest writings.

30 YEARS A FIGHTER: Dr. Lamont, who likes to say he is of immigrant stock, is a direct descendant of Gov. William Bradford of the Plymouth Colony who arrived on the Mayflower in 1620. He talks little about his family (beyond his wife and four children); but in a recent letter to Sen. Pat McCarran, who had pilloried him for contributing to the American Institute of Pacific Relations, he pointed out that his father—the late Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan & Co.—gave far more to the IPR and was never smeared.

Corliss Lamont began campaigning for civil rights 30 years ago when as a Harvard undergraduate he opposed a quota for Jewish students at the school. By his senior year he was protesting the denial of a forum to William Z. Foster, Scott Nearing, Upton Sinclair.

Since then he has taught at Cornell, Harvard, the New School for Social Research and Columbia. His published works include **The Peoples of the Soviet Union, The Independent Mind, The Illusion of Immortality** and **Humanism as a Philosophy.** His affiliations range from the Clan Lamont Society and Phi Beta Kappa to the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Labor Party. He has frankly disagreed with some ALP positions—for example, on how the Korean War started—but he fervently agrees that the war should end now.

DR. CORLISS LAMONT
Where are the unfriendly ones

THE MINORITY OF GIANTS: At 50 he is running for political office for the first time in his life. In his acceptance speech he traced his early stand for civil rights and said:

> "Ever since then I have been in the thick of this battle; and I have every intention of staying there. As you know, a year or so ago the State Dept. denied me a passport to Europe and the Soviet Union for the crime of dissenting from U.S. government policies. Word came to me that if I changed my views, I could in all probability obtain a passport. Well, my answer to that is that I will never surrender my convictions and prinicples to please any government, any political party, any university, any institution whatsoever on the face of the earth."

He said he expected to be "smeared so that I'd be dripping." The big surprise is that he has met little red-baiting. On one pre-campaign upstate tour he spoke at a rally in Buffalo's Sheraton Hotel. Two city subversive squad agents were posted conspicuously at the door and a photographer carefully concentrated on shots of the audience. During the question period a man asked:

> "Why all this attention to a little minority like us? Are we giants?"

Lamont answered: "Yes, we are giants, bcause we possess the truth."

VOTE WITH CONSCIENCE: Much more frequent than red-baiting Dr. Lamont finds the "lesser evil" argument. For such doubters he has a 5-point text:

- It's not only the men who are running but the parties, forces, machines behind them;
- Truman was a "lesser evil" and he gave us a war economy, rearmament of Germany and Japan and war itself in Korea;
- A PP vote—a clear vote for peace—is the best way to bring pressure to bear on any President;
- The third party will never be built if progressives go on voting for any evil, greater or lesser;
- The PP platform [and in the campaign he always brings it out of his briefcase with a flourish] is the only platform progressives can vote for with a good conscience.

One of New York's "lesser evil" exponents, N.Y. **Compass** columnist I. F. Stone, supports both Gov. Stevenson and Dr. Lamont. Lamont commented:

> "I have a high regard for Stone but I disagree whole-heartedly with his advice to vote for Stevenson."

Lamont has a schedule of nightly meetings at street corners, shop-gates, hotel ballrooms, upstate tours with Mr. Hallinan and Mrs. Bass. He has only one criticism of his audiences to date:

> "They're good, enthusiastic—but perhaps a little too friendly for my own interests."

The philosophy professor in the thick of the battle, who "will never surrender his convictions," needs more people who need convincing.

NEW YORK

Swing Your Partner!

National Guardian's Fourth Anniversary
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THEY DID NOT REGARD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AS ENEMIES

Delegates of 35 nations meet in great Peking peace parley

By Israel Epstein
GUARDIAN special correspondent

PEKING, CHINA

FOR the first time in history delegates of 22 Asian countries from Japan to Israel, of 13 American countries from Chile to Canada, and of Australia and New Zealand met last week to discuss mutual problems of their areas. The common objectives of these representatives of Asian and Pacific countries with a total of 1,600,000,000 people: full national independence, and avoidance of a third world war.

They met here on Thursday after witnessing a 400,000-strong demonstration celebrating the third anniversary of the People's Republic of China, whose President Mao Tse-tung entertained the delegates on the eve of this national holiday. It was the prodigious springtime of China's 500 million, who in freeing themselves from imperialism have changed the world balance of forces, that made this new link between peoples possible.

OUT OF DARKNESS: Representatives of New China keynoted the peace conference with an offer of friendship to all; with a warm gesture toward the American people, whose government tried so hard to prevent China's liberation; and with the sober recommendation that delegates consider ways to end present wars in Asia—in Korea, Vietnam, Malaya.

After the credentials report in the beautiful new conference hall equipped with multi-lingual simultaneous interpretation, Soong Ching-ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen) spoke. She compared the great gathering with China's first clandestine peace conference in 1933, when delegates sat on the floor of a deserted Shanghai factory building—and with this year's Montevideo conference which met under the same conditions as China in its darkest age. Equating the struggles for national independence

MAO TSE-TUNG & FRIEND
There was a party

and peace, she urged the world peace movement to enlarge itself by "venturing into untrodden territories."

"LEARN FROM EACH OTHER": Peking's mayor Peng Chen, a vice-chairman of China's Peace Committee, called for an immediate cease-fire in Korea leading to "withdrawal of all foreign troops" including Chinese, and for "equal commerce to raise the livelihood of all." China, he said,

> "... believes all countries can co-exist peacefully. . . . The noble cultural traditions of all should be respected, and all should learn from one another."

Messages were read from Mao; from Chilean poet-senator Pablo Neruda, whose visit to China last year forged one of the first strong links between the peoples of Asia and Latin America; from World Peace Council pres. Joliot-Curie; from Japanese scientist Ikuo Oyama, who described the breadth and strength of the peace movement in Japan—illustrated in the hall by the presence of 16 Japanese delegates, despite the "ironclad" passport ban imposed by U.S.-backed Premier Yoshida. Then the whole assembly stood in tribute to Paul Robeson—as so many meetings in the U.S. have done—while appplauding the message he had sent.

"LOYALTY TO TRUTH": World Peace Council vice-pres. Gabriel d'Arboussier of Africa spoke of his people's community of interest with Asia. Saifuddin Kitchlew, former pres. of the All-India Natl. Congress, told how elections of delegates had taken place in all parts of his country and appealed for healing of the India-Pakistan breach over Kashmir. Pakistani delegate Sharif followed him with a similar appeal for an end to the conflict "between brothers," and said:

> "If all peoples are fully roused, no power on earth will lead them to fight in a war that is being planned to make the world safe for imperialism."

Ernest Thornton, famous Australian Ironworkers Fedn. leader, speaking for the Asian-Australasian Liaison Bureau of the World Fedn. of Trade Unions, said labor everywhere wants peace: normal union activities to improve the life of the workers cannot be carried on when bombs are falling. Canon Maynard, Episcopalian clergyman who came as an Australian delegate despite the passport ban, drew applause from Catholics, Buddhist priests, Moslem dignitaries and Communists alike when he said:

> "It is truth, not falsehood, that benefits the world. As a Christian I am convinced one cannot serve one's country better than by being loyal to truth and justice."

FRIENDLY "ENEMIES": Other speakers the first day included British Fire Brigade Union leader John Burns (a guest), Sen. Abel Chermont of Brazil, Japanese Prof. Hiroshi Minami. The first session solidified such pre-conference activity as the meeting between a U.S. delegates' group led by Louis W. Wheaton, Negro machinist member of the United Electrical Workers from New York, and the Korean delegation. The Koreans told the U.S. delegates that Americans in the peace movement need not apologize for the aggression of their own government; the Koreans looked upon them not as accomplices in the mass murder but as fellow-fighters for peace.

In the conference-hall lobby I saw Raymonde Dien, the heroic French girl who lay down in front of a troop train carrying arms and men for shipment to Vietnam, in warm friendly conversation with a young Vietnamese combat veteran of the Caobanh battle who is here as a delegate. Among other world peace figures here is Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet.

The week-long agenda includes items on Japan-Korea cultural exchange, economic relations, national independence, women and children, a five-power pact, problems of the Near and Middle East.

People's Prints, London
PEACE FOR OUR CHILDREN

ASIA

Japan 'Liberals' retain majority

IN elections last week in Japan, Premier Yoshida's Liberal Party retained power by electing 200 members to the 466-seat Diet (Lower House). The other seats were divided between the Progressive, Right and Left Socialist Parties and Independents. (Liberal and Progressive Party members are in reality conservatives.) The Communist Party, which had 22 members in the last Diet, failed to elect any. The Left Socialists more than trebled their representation, from 16 to 54 seats; Liberal strength was reduced by 45 seats.

That the Liberals would elect a majority was a foregone conclusion: besides being supported by the U.S., they could point to Japan's relative prosperity resulting from the $30-million-a-month Korean war orders. Japanese living standards sank to 70% of pre-World War standard, but have been maintained at that level since Korea. Nevertheless, sober Japanese observers pointed out, "Yoshida's victory, has not been overwhelming" (N.Y. **Times**, 10/3).

THE ANTI-WAR VOTE: The defeated Communist Party suffered from a semi-legal status, with many leaders in jail or hiding; government persecution through the recent Anti-Subversives Act and through direct assaults on CP quarters; arrests during the May Day demonstrations; and restrictions placed on all minority parties by new election laws. The fact that, after the 1949 elections, only 22 of 35 CP members elected could take their seats in the Diet, may have caused many voters to back Left Socialist candidates who could be expected to retain their seats and who also oppose rearming, favor trade and friendship with China and the U.S.S.R.

Kyodo news agency reported (9/22):

> Open advocacy of immediate rearmament for Japan is being avoided by all political parties in their electioneering campaigns. . . . Even those favoring rearmament of some kind are toning down their platforms on this issue [because] the majority of both young and women voters have gone on record as opposing rearmament, which in their opinion will lead to war.

Within the Diet Yoshida would be facing the rivalry of former war criminal Hatoyama, who polled more votes than any other candidate, and who might be supported by the 143 "de-purged" war criminals elected.

BONDHOLDERS' PARTY: Meanwhile the Japanese government was trying to settle the country's financial affairs to encourage foreign investors. Terms of payment on pre-war Japanese bonds (whose large-scale holders include the Vatican) were settled as follows:

> Holders of the $67.6 million of dollar bonds will receive full principal, full interest, and full back interest for the past ten years. Interest rates range from 5½ to 7%. A holder of a 7% bond will get 14% interest a year for ten years, until the back interest is paid up, then 7% per year until maturity. The cost to Japan of back interest is more than half the face value of the bonds. Included are Japanese Govt. bonds issued in 1930 (when Japan was preparing its career of conquest), and bonds of the Oriental Development Co., which handled the exploitation of Korea for Japanese big business.
>
> British bondholders will be paid in depreciated sterling for their $225 million of bonds; French bondholders, claiming they were owed $120 million, got nothing, may finally get $1 million.

The day after the settlement Japanese bonds jumped 1 to 12⅞ points on the N. Y. Stock Exchange. There were heavy sales as insiders took their profits "now that the good news is out" (**NYT**, 9/30). Since Japan runs a three-to-one trading deficit with the dollar area, payment of U.S. bondholders will require a corresponding flow of U.S. taxpayers' dollars to Japan.

The settlement completed the series of bond deals with former Axis countries: Italian bonds were settled in 1947, German earlier this year. The Japanese settlement is the most favorable to U.S. bondholders. (The U.S. Government, which backs these settlements, has prevented payment of Axis reparations to most countries victims of their World War II aggression.)

56 more killed in POW camps

AS the deadline drew near when the Chinese and North Koreans were to reply to the latest UN proposals on POW exchange (all still based on "voluntary repatriation"), 56 Chinese prisoners were killed, 111 wounded, in a Cheju Island POW compound. The Chinese were described as "fanatics" who insisted (**NYT**, 10/2) on

> . . . celebrating the third anniversary of the Peiping [Peking] Communist regime . . . milling around and singing.

Peking's **Hsinhua** agency had already reported (9/26) an incident Sept. 23 on Cheju when 49 Chinese POW's were wounded after they staged "demonstrations." Commented **Hsinhua**:

> The reason for the demonstration [is that] the prisoners refused to be forcibly retained by the Americans. The Americans employed Kuomintang agents to force captured personnel to write petitions in blood and tattoo themselves—then attempted to detain them by claiming that 68% "refuse to be repatriated." . . . Obviously the Americans are dreaming that the day will come when they can hand over the captured personnel to the Kuomintang to serve as cannon fodder in their war of aggression.

"STERNER STUFF": In the UN General Assembly opening next week, the U.S. was preparing (**WSJ**, 10/3) to

> . . . press for a strong resolution telling the Reds they should accept the most recent armistice offer. . . . The U.S. figures it will have satisfied jittery allies that sterner stuff is called for.

According to **U. S. News** (10/3),

> . . . atomic weapons will be used in Korea if situation develops in which the generals believe these weapons can be used profitably.

A new angle emerged on long-standing Communist charges of a Japanese legion in Korea, when **CBS'** George Herman reported from Tokyo (9/29) that both the charges and U.S. denials are untrue. There is in Korea, he said, a legion of 8,000 Japan-born Koreans whose existence is "unknown to top U.S. brass, only to lower army echelons"; they speak Japanase, know nothing of Korea, and were recruited through S. Korean government ads in Japanese papers.

Hot and cold wars

- **Britain** exploded its first atomic weapon on the Monte Bello Islands off N. W. Australia. Australian physicist W. J. Mangini said it "could have been a hydrogen bomb." Britain refused to allow U.S. observers to witness the test.
- **Egypt's** "strong man" Gen. Naguib, increasing army domination of the government as staff officers were assigned to every civil department, impounded assets of the Wafd Party which capitulated to his demand that it fire its leader, Mustafa Nahas.
- **Iran's** Mossadegh received from Britain a virtual rejection of his ultimatum demanding Britain pay the $137 million he says Britain owes Iran before he would agree to resume oil talks. In its brief reply, backed by a similar U.S. note, Britain ignored the demand.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Voters get busy for Mrs. Bass, Lamont

TWO new committees were organized last week to speed PP campaigns. The Natl. Women's Committee for Mrs. Bass was called into action by Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, Mrs. Halois Moorehead Robinson and Mrs. Lillian H. Baldwin; New Yorkers were rallied to the Independent Voters for Corliss Lamont, with Stevenson supporter columnist I. F. Stone acting as initiating committee chairman.

The Mrs. Bass Committee scheduled its organizing meeting Oct. 14 at New York's United Mutual Auditorium, 310 Lexington Av. The call said:

> We women have a job to do. We must make it known everywhere that Mrs. Charlotta Bass is the first Negro woman to run for Vice-President . . . that this dignified, warmhearted, beautiful fighting woman symbolizes the best hopes of womanhood, especially Negro womanhood.

(Mrs. Bass, on a vigorous "last lap" campaign in California, spoke at two mass rallies in Los Angeles—one mainly attended by Mexican-Americans—and in San Francisco at the Macedonia Baptist and Mt. Zion Baptist churches, twice over station KROW, and at a Marine City mass meeting. She also spoke outside the L. A. Federal Bldg. where hundreds of progressives picketed the Un-American Activities Comm. hearings. Her next campaign stop was Dallas, Tex.)

The Lamont Committee, set up at a meeting last Tuesday, declared:

> The vote for Lamont will be a kind of plebiscite for peace, most completely measuring the number of voters in N. Y. State who want an end to the cold war and the negotiation of a world settlement.

WRITE-IN IN ILLINOIS: The battle for the ballot scored a victory in New Hampshire where the PP topped requirements, filed 1,316 signatures. The Illinois PP, on the other hand, conceded a setback in the fight against electoral board finagling but launched a campaign for write-in votes. The Ill. PP Bulletin, before detailing write-in procedures, said:

> Every legal avenue for stopping the bipartisan robbery of free elections in Illinois this year has been exhausted. The fight for free elections goes on—tied in to every issue we bring to the people up to Nov. 4. It means a continuing campaign, using both legal and pressure methods for a basic revision of the law after the election.

New Jersey Progressives set this week as the high-point for a "Stop the War Now" campaign, rallied at Newark's Mosque Theatre to hear Hallinan, Mrs. Bass, Paul Robeson and Mrs. Katharine Van Orden, N. J. candidate for the Senate. Part of the meeting was carried by radio and TV.

MEXICAN-AMERICANS FIGHT: While California's top interest centered on the Senatorial campaign of Reuben Borough, two local candidates stirred attention. Los Angeles County (with 400,000 Mexican-Americans, the largest community of Mexican descent outside of Mexico City) has never had a Mexican-American in the state legislature. The PP is running Mrs. Mary Natividad Barnes, 39, mother of 7, grandmother of 5, life-long farm and factory worker in the Southwest. Mrs. Barnes has been campaigning not only for the over-all IPP peace program but for more schools (half in her area are on half-day sessions); more housing, municipal ownership of bus and rail lines, opposition to the proposed 75c householders' tax to pay for sewage disposal.

California's million Mexican population is unrepresented in Washington as well. The PP has nominated for Congresswoman from the 19th C.D. Mrs. Ida Alvarez, Mexican community leader. In announcing her candidacy IPP's Art Takei said last week:

> "The present incumbent, Cong. Chet Holifield (one-time liberal), has outlived his usefulness as our representative. He has become preoccupied with machine politics, taking expensive trips to overseas countries instead of devoting time to his own district, and crying that the only way to peace is to build more atomic and hydrogen bombs. He has ceased to represent the interests of the Mexican, Negro and ether minority people by not fighting for FEPC or against police brutality; he has betrayed the Jewish people by calling for re-militarization of Germany; and he has forfeited his right to represent the workers and the labor movement by his lack of concern on the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, or fighting against high prices or taxes."

MARY N. BARNES
In the L. A. spotlight

Where and when to hear PP candidates

	HALLINAN	MRS. BASS
Oct. 11	Eagles Hall, Madison, Wis., 7:30 p.m.	Broadwood Hotel, Philadelphia, 2 p.m.; Atlantic City, N. J. (eve.)
Oct. 12	Odd Fellows Hall, Milwaukee, Wis., 7:30 p.m.	Manhattan, Reception, Small's Paradise, 2295 7th Av., 4-9 p.m.
Oct. 13	CIO Hall, Minneapolis, Minn., 8 p.m.	St. Simon's Episc. Church, New Rochelle, N. Y. (eve.)
Oct. 14	Duluth, Minn.	
Oct 15	UE Hall, Chicago	
Oct. 16	South Bend, Ind.	Odd Fellows Hall, Washington, D. C., 8 p.m.
Oct. 17	Cleveland	Virginia, Oct. 17-19
Oct. 18	Buick Local Hall, Flint, Mich, 8 p.m.	
Oct. 19	Madison Ballroom, Detroit, 3 p.m.; Ann Arbor (evening)	Richmond, Va.
Oct. 20	Fort Pitt Hotel, Pittsburgh, 8 p.m.	

For details where not given, check with your local PP club.

FIRST OF A SERIES

How the Negro voters feel about the elections

By Eugene Gordon

"BOTH of them old parties are crooked," the barbershop debater said. The customer getting the works in the reclining chair mumbled throught a hot towel:

> "Republican Party has more rich men behind it, that's all, but rich men run both of 'em."

I had dropped into the basement shop at Lenox Av. and 127th St. in Harlem for just such sampling of opinion among Negro voters. Paying no attention to me, a barber said:

> "Don't care whether Ike or Adlai gets in, the man downtown wins. It's just like he took money out of one pocket and put it in the other. It's his'n right on."

The main difference between these men and the Abraham Lincoln Houses tenants I had just left was that the barbershoppers had not only heard **about** the Progressive Party (or ALP) but had actually heard candidates Hallinan, Mrs. Bass and Mrs. Robeson speak right outside. Seventeen of the 20 Negro families who talked to me in the city housing project said they didn't know there was another party they might vote for.

"COMMUNIST TALK": A barber recalled Hallinan's vowing never to support the Korean war; a waiting customer got up and almost ran, calling back that he wasn't going to listen to "communist talk."

"He's Dewey's man," a tough, wrinkled little old fellow chuckled, going on to tell of the time he was brought to Pennsylvania with other Alabama Negroes:

> "The white miners wanted more pay and a closed shop; we Negroes just wanted to work. Well, we broke that strike and the bosses kicked us out. So the whites didn't get the closed shop and I come to be a bum in Pittsburgh."

As long as he lived "and ten years after I'm dead," he said, he'd mistrust the rich white man. But the poor white and the black man wouldn't fight each other if they had any sense. That was why he liked the Progressive Party.

THEY KNOW WHAT THEY WANT: Rev. Benjamin C. Robeson, pastor, Mother-AME Zion Church, would have found that an interesting spot. He saw the Negro as "confused" by the big parties' "conflicting and contradictory claims." The people know what they want but not where to get it. But being himself an officer of the Republican organization, Rev. Robeson couldn't in conscience advise voting PP or ALP even if he abandoned neutrality:

> "I can't tell them how to vote; I can only urge them to register and to use their ballot wisely."

The fact that he is honest—and a Negro—forces him to believe most Negroes would vote Progressive "if they knew about it."

Carl Lawrence, recently fired by the **Amsterdam News** because of his progressive politics, said Harlem is primarily interested in abolishing corrupt or indifferent Negro leadership.

HARLEM, U. S. A.
A crowd listens in at a street-corner political meeting

WHERE IS IT? The Progressive Party's platform embracing peace, an enforceable, unconditional FEPC, and repeal of Taft-Hartley with reinstatement of the Wagner Act, comes nearest to outlining the Negro people's wants. Mr. Lawrence said so. Rev. Robeson said so. The noted Negro attorney, Alan Dingle, said it, too, as did a woman gift-store proprietor, a newsstand manager, a taxi driver, some workers in the 135th St. branch public library, a bookstore proprietor, the Abraham Lincoln Houses families, and persons questioned at random at 125th St. and St. Nicholas Av. But many of these didn't say so until told what the Progressive Party was.

They had never heard of it.

Where they knew about it, they were for it—as, for instance, the workers in a phonograph warehouse on W. 25th St. A half-dozen Negro women and men led a smaller number of white workers in defending and explaining the Progressive Party when the white foreman declared it to be exactly like the GOP.

A JOB NOT DONE: I found few anywhere who intended to vote for Eisenhower and Nixon. Most were dubious about Stevenson and Sparkman. Yet, seeing only these choices, they revealed in talking with you that they desired with all their hearts what Hallinan so simply has summed up as the essence of the Progressives' program.

Richard Moore, 125th St. bookstore proprietor, said:

> "Yes, I'm going to vote Progressive, and I'm going to continue speaking for the Progressive Party. I'm doing it in protest against the policies of repression and discrimination practiced by the Democrats and Republicans. I'm going to vote Progressive because this party has nominated an Afro-Amercian woman. But,"—and his expressive eyes and face were suddenly transformed with passion—"the Progressive Party DOES NOT warrant this support!"

He was eager to tell why:

> "Because it hasn't brought the issues to the people up here, that's why! Because, at this most critical period of our history, it carries on a makeshift, half-hearted campaign in Harlem!"

"LET US KNOW": The superintendent at 10 W. 103rd St., half a block up the hill from Central Park West, said he found it hard to make a choice between Eisenhower and Stevenson, "with that cracker from Alabama running for Vice-President." He said wistfully: "What the working man needs—and especially the Negro—is a third party." He brightened when reminded that this third party existed. He welcomed the NATIONAL GUARDIAN I gave him. He said feelingly:

> "Why don't you-all come up and down this street with a sound truck and let us know what's cooking?"

Hell's brew in Pittsburgh: Why Steve Nelson went to prison

By Steve Nelson

ALLEGHENY CO. JAIL
PITTSBURGH, PA.

I WRITE this to thank the GUARDIAN for its help in bringing the Pittsburgh frame-up scandal to the people of this nation. The crimes committed in Pittsburgh—the stronghold of the coal and iron trust—have no parallel in this country in modern times. The Mellons and the Morgans, who own over half of Pennsylvania's wealth, acquired it by cold-blooded robbery.

The Mellons, Carnegies and Fricks once ruled this state with brute force. In those days, when workers fought for the shorter work day, injunctions issued by Judge Mellon were enforced by the trust's private army—the Coal and Iron Police. Richard Mellon, testifying before a U. S. Senate committee, was asked: "Can coal mines and steel mills be run without machine guns?" He replied: "No."

Pittsburgh then was called by Lincoln Steffens "Hell with the lid off." It has changed outwardly: the Mellons no longer serve as judges, nor as Secretary of the Treasury. They rule now with the lid clamped tight. But the stink of their hell's brew is beginning to spread over the state and the nation. The Coal and Iron Police have been replaced by more modern rule through the courts, using the Sedition Act passed in 1919 just as the coal and iron law was cracking.

PARCHMENT: Today the Mellons' rule is maintained by control of both big political parties. There are no independent newspapers in Pittsburgh; they are dependent on the coal and steel trusts. Independent judges are almost non-existent. The rest regard the Bill of Rights as a parchment preservd for eternity in Philadelphia.

STEVE NELSON
"America: Danger ahead!"

This is what the Mellon judges have done to the Bill of Rights:

1. The right to speak. This now means the right to speak only what is approved by Sen. McCarthy and Judge Musmanno. Speak in opposition and you land in jail, as I did with Andrew Onda and James Dolsen.

2. You can think, but if your thoughts have anything to do with books of which the Mellons do not approve, you are subversive, the books confiscated and you are tried for sedition.

3. If you speak for war, you are a patriot. If you oppose the war policy, you are bringing the state, the court and its officials into "hatred and contempt" and you are tried for sedition.

THEY ARE KNOWN: 4. The right to a jury of your peers. The prosecutor knows every juror before the trial starts. They have been fed lies about the prospective victims daily for years.

5. The right to counsel. After seeing over 80 lawyers and writing to 700, I found not one who would accept. Why? Well, a lawyer can't stay home and make a living. Or in jail. Hyman Schlessinger, a lawyer who helped, was arrested and tried for sedition.

6. The private prosecutor Musmanno, who initiated the arrests, selected trial Judge Montgomery, who as head of Americans Battling Communism had promised years before to prosecute me and others.

7. The same Musmanno selected his nephew as prosecutor.

8. Musmanno, as a member of the State Supreme Court became an "expert on books and ideas" on trial and main prosecution witness. The ceremony celebrating his elevation to the Supreme Court was held in the middle of the trial.

MORE JUDGES: 9. The original prosecutor, Lauren Lewis, became a judge, was honored at a banquet, left my trial after three weeks to become a member of the County Court.

10. Dist. Atty. William Rahauser, who handled the grand jury which indicted us, became a County Court judge during my trial. Women jurors received corsages at banquets for the three new judges, each sitting and participating directly in my trial.

11. Other witnesses were FBI glorified stoolpigeons, **agent provocateur** Cvetic and others. The Warner Bros. picture, sold by Cvetic, **I Was A Communist for the FBI,** had its premiere in Pittsburgh. Warner publicity men sat in at my trial for six weeks.

12. The verdict: "Guilty." The sentence—20 years in the worst workhouse in the country.

13. There is a right to bail pending appeal—for all convictions except capital crimes (murder)—but not for me. The State Superior Court, on which sits ABC chairman Judge Gunther, set a new legal precedent.

ALL OVER AGAIN: In the middle of the sedition trial, I was arrested with Onda, Dolsen, Irving Weissman, Ben Carreathers and William Albertson under the Smith Act.

The charge is the same—books and ideas. Same "overt acts," witnesses. Same kind of jurors. No local lawyer. Judge and district attorney appointed

by same clique. Same press hysteria.

"Presumed innocent till found guilty." How? Three of the defendants already found guilty and convicted for same "crime." I, sentenced to 20 years, will be brought to court each day in chains.

America: Danger ahead! If the Republicans have their McCarthys, the Democrats have their Musmannos.

The McCarthy danger is rapidly becoming obvious to labor and liberals, but labor is not yet alert to the danger of Musmannoism. Liberals think him a fool and a showman. The Mellon declaration that this affects Communists only is a trap to scuttle the Bill of Rights for all.

Now is the time to protest to Dist. Atty. Malone, Pittsburgh, Pa.

PICKETS GREET THE WITCH-HUNTERS

Another 'Chicago' in Los Angeles?

By Gene Richards
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

LOS ANGELES

WHEN the House Un-American Activities Committee opened its long-heralded roadshow visit here last week, there were elaborate precautions to prevent—as chairman John S. Wood (D-Ga.) explained—"another Chicago" (where loudly protesting pickets had invaded the hearings building in force). With stairway doors two floors above and below the hearings room locked, corridors roped off, guards posted and citizen observers "screened," the show opened in a Federal Building bristling with U. S. deputy marshals, local police and FBI agents.

But the show got a welcome in the most robust California progressive tradition, from a mass "Pickets for Freedom" line around the building and from a stream of "uncooperative" witnesses in the legal, medical, newspaper, radio-TV and other professions and labor and liberal groups.

CALL TO CITIZENS: A few nights before the opening 1,500 persons had jammed the Embassy Auditorium, contributed $1,600 to a nation-wide drive to abolish the Un-AAC. Dr. A. A. Heist, venerated former chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union's S. California branch, chaired the meeting. Calling on all citizens to "stand up and speak out," Dr. Heist reminded the audience that only a few years ago the Un-AAC's fate hung by a single vote in Congress.

The S. Calif. Council to Abolish the Un-AAC drew blood from Un-AAC member Rep. Donald Jackson (R-Hollywood) when it issued a protest against opening of the hearings on Yom Kippur, ancient Hebrew holy day, and against the predominantly Jewish character of the list of announced victims. Jackson insisted he had personally arranged that no person of Jewish faith would be required to testify on Yom Kippur (he faces runoff election Nov. 4).

"UTTER CONTEMPT": Chief roadblock to the new attack on civil liberties in L. A. came from the witnesses themselves. Men and women with high reputations in the Roosevelt era throughout the community invoked their constitutional guarantees and took the offensive. Ben Margolis, labor and civil rights lawyer, angrily told chairman Wood:

> "Contempt? I hold this entire committee in utter contempt. You will never secure from me testimony regarding my beliefs, associations or relations with my clients. You should be investigating lynching in your own home state of Georgia."

Wood shouted: "That's a lie!" Said Margolis:

> "I said it under oath. Why don't you proceed against me for perjury?"

Badgered by Un-AAC interrogator Tavenner, atty. Fred Steinmetz said:

> "You will not tell ME what I know. I will tell YOU what I know, when I choose."

He charged the Un-AAC with placing "hundreds of thousands of people in fear of being thrown out of the country."

COURAGE ON TWO FEET: Rep. Clyde Doyle, himself a lawyer, lost a joust with atty. Mrs. Pauline Epstein, who forced him to read aloud the public law under which the Un-AAC was created in order to prove her disputed point that its objective was to investigate "propaganda" or information.

Atty. John Porter challenged the committee's definition of "courage":

> "Your concept of courage is based on the bended knee. Mine stands on two hind feet, fighting for the Bill of Rights."

Margolis at one point challenged Jackson, who wanted to "make a statement." Margolis warned:

> "If you make a statement, I'll make a statement. We'll rent a hall and both make statements, if you have the courage to speak outside your Congressional immunity."

Meanwhile the Natl. Lawyers Guild announced that 200 California attorneys have joined to protest invasion of lawyer-client relationship by the investigators.

The Un-AAC had rough going from witnesses most of the way. When psychiatrist Dr. Milton Lester sought to deliver a statement, Wood called it irrelevant and threatened to throw him out. Said Lester:

> "You can caution me to the end of time, but I will not conform to your ideas."

PICKETING "MUSCOVITES": L. A. newspapers created an atmosphere of hysteria with regard to the picketing of the hearings. "Special precautions" against violence were headlined.

The pickets—a confident, cheering, singing crowd sparked by guitar strummers who came on a truck emblazoned with Independent Progressive Party signs—chanted "Hands off the Bill of Rights" and rhymed it with "Stop the Inquisitionites!" They were hemmed narrowly between a phalanx of cops at all curbs, and rows of U. S. deputy marshalls and FBI men at entrances to the Federal Building.

WRONG TEETH: In the hearings room, five persons were ejected during applause for an "unfriendly witness." On the picket-line the only blood was drawn in a fist fight between two "anti-communists" who got their signals crossed.

John Hogya, 39, perennial heckler for anti-public housing groups, who recently was slugged by Republican Mayor Bowron for calling His Honor a red during a housing hearing, showed up to "picket the pickets." Walking just outside the picket-line of 500 with his own provocative signs: "Citizens alert! Wreck-on-ize your common enemy!" Hogya got in the way of bartender George Redston of the VFW, another energetic "anti-red."

"Get back in line where you belong!" shrieked Redston. "I'm an anti-communist!" shouted Hogya, adding a couple of obscenities. Redston knocked out a handful of Hogya's teeth. Later the two shook hands and Redston explained to reporters: "I thought the --- -- -- ----- was a Communist!"

WHERE CULTURE IS A DIRTY WORD
This photo was taken at Los Angeles Board of Education hearing. The spectators, holding aloft McCarran signs and McCarthy pictures, were demanding that United Nations literature be removed from the schools.

EDUCATION

Fear rides schools; 6 N.Y. teachers fired

THE Purdue University Opinion Panel polled a cross-section of teen-agers and found:

- 58% think police "third degrees" might be justified.
- 25% said not all groups should be allowed to meet, however peaceably.
- 26% would sanction police searches without warrants.
- 15% would deny a "criminal" the right to a lawyer.
- 55% favor restrictions on what newspapers can print.
- 33% said persons should be forced to testify against themselves.

The survey shocked A. J. Hayes, president of the conservative Intl. Assn. of Machinists. In the union's **Machinists Monthly Journal** (Oct.) Hayes wrote:

> All of the positions reported . . . are directly opposite to the rights guaranteed us in the first 10 amendments. . . . The findings definitely indicate a totalitarian trend of thinking. . . . Just as a small pimple may warn of cancer, this knowledge must serve as a warning to us. . . . Human dignity and justice . . . cannot effectively be taught where educational institutions are under direction of outside groups. . . . If we cannot brave the impact of opposing opinions we have already lost the very things to which we proudly call the attention of the entire world. . . . It may be quite late [to repair the damage] but maybe not too late.

THEY HESITATE: Social science teacher Meyer Case of Brooklyn High School, testifying before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, said:

> ". . . Teachers who are actively working for teachers' rights and against bigotry are called in for questioning. They feel they have got to make a living. They don't want to discuss things like foreign policy. They hesitate when they answer controversial questions. The students too have been affected. They learn from their parents to be cautious."

The Kansas City **Star**, on the other hand, said life for U. S. school children was "just so much strawberries and cream." In communist lands, it said, children were subjected

> . . to a cruel scheme to create mentally twisted adults-before-their-time out of school-age youngsters deprived of their birthright of light-hearted happiness. Only the Russians could have thought up such a fate for them.

The New York City Board of Education last week announced the dismissal of six teachers who refused before the Senate committee to testify about their or their colleagues' political beliefs.

OF GOOD CHARACTER: Eight other teachers in N. Y. were on departmental trial for similar refusal; they had been suspended since last January. At the trial defense counsel called a trial board member, Rev. John M. Coleman, as character witness for accused teacher Mildred Flacks. Rev. Coleman, of St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church in Brooklyn, testified he had known Mrs. Flacks 15 years and "never heard anything detrimental to her," that she had taught his child. He said:

> "I have always been particularly appreciative of her great effort in community work."

Then Rev. Coleman asked to be excused from the board and hearings were suspended a week to consider the new development. The semester's witch-hunt so far has set in motion departmental trials and firings, forced the retirement or threatened the dismissal of college professors, opened fresh inquisitions into the Teachers Union.

A POSITIVE VIEW: The TU meanwhile rallied mass picket lines of 600 persons at Board hearings, called on the Board to hire 1,500 teachers to alleviate the disastrous shortage facing the city, appealed to Sen. Lehman and Gov. Stevenson to protest the witch-hunt by their fellow Democrat, Sen.

McCarran.

While the witch-hunt continued, the American Labor Party issued a fact sheet on the city's schools showing:

> Five schools 100 years old; 270 from 50-100 years; only 127 under 15 years; 107 non-fire-proof buildings; standing room only in P. S. 19, Manhattan, five shifts in P. S. 61, also Manhattan; number of Negroes (10% of city's population), 2.5% of teaching staff.

The ALP school program called for an end to the witch-hunts and atom-bomb raid drills; $600 million state bond issue for new schools, $10 billion federal program, $500 salary raise for all school employes, end to anti-Negro discrimination.

LABOR

Unions balk Harvester in wage-cutting war

JOHN L. McCAFFREY, president of Intl. Harvester, recently returned from a world tour of the farm-equipment monopoly's empire, reported wages in Harvester's U. S. plants out of line with those paid in the company's French (31c an hour) and German (25c) plants.

The company, which last year made $86,000,000 after taxes, embarked on a wage-cutting war. Earlier this year AFL unions in the Milwaukee plant struck. CIO United Auto Workers, goaded by a 30% pay cut and a 68% piece-work price cut, walked out two months ago. The company prepared to move its twine-mill plant from Chicago to the South, tossing 965 workers, mainly Negro, out of their jobs. The workers staged a sit-down last month.

NOT TALKING: The company refused to negotiate demands of the United Electrical Workers, insisting on a free hand in speed-up and down-grading. When the contract expired 7 weeks ago UE's 30,000 Harvester workers walked out.

Since then the company has refused negotiation, concentrated on scabs, injunctions, mass displays of police and back-to-work movements. Company strategy has centered around the foremen, organized into "missionaries for management" (**Wall St. Journal**, Oct. 2). They have been ordered to canvass workers for scabs and to do production work at Menlo Park where the UAW is on strike. Both assaults by the "missionaries," working under what UE calls "fink or quit" orders, have so far failed to dent the strike.

At the company's Kentucky coal mines, meanwhile, the United Mine Workers broke through the wage-cutting offensive, won a 22c-an-hour raise. UE, resisting all wage cuts, has demanded a 15c boost.

•

HAVE YOU SEEN GUARDIAN'S 1952-53 HOLIDAY CARDS?
Turn to Page 11

is this ESPIONAGE — or a POLITICAL QUESTIONNAIRE?

[Government's Exhibit 27 for identification received in
[fol. 1749] evidence.)
Mr. Saypol: May I read the label to the jury?
The Court: Yes.
Mr. Saypol: Will it be conceded that this is a can commonly used by solicitors for contributions?
Mr. E. H. Bloch: I will so concede.
Mr. Saypol: And the can reads on the label "Save Spanish Republican Child. Volveremos. We will return. Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, 192 Lexington Avenue, Suite 1501," and there is a notice on the back indicating that the City of New York permits these cans to be used for solicitation.
By Mr. Saypol:
Q. So that perhaps you did a little more than just contribute?
Mr. E. H. Bloch: Just a second, if your Honor please.
Q. Is that so?

1180
Q. Who invited you to join it?
Mr. E. H. Bloch: I object to that.
A. I don't remember.
Q. How did it first come to your knowledge?
A. Somebody solicited my membership.
Q. Who was that somebody?
A. I don't remember.
Q. Is that somebody perhaps a member of the Communist Party?
A. I have no idea, no.
Q. Where were you solicited?
A. I don't recall.
[fol. 1753] Q. How many years have you been a member?
A. I don't know how many years I have been a member.
Q. What kind of insurance do you have in that order?
A. I hold $5,000. life insurance.
Q. Where is the policy?
A. The policy?
Q. Yes.
A. In my home.
Q. Whom do you send premiums to?
A. To the secretary of the Lodge.
Q. Where is his office?
A. I send it to his home address.
Q. Where is that?
A. Somewhere in Brooklyn. I don't remember.
Q. You mean you pay the insurance to the secretary of the Lodge at his home?
A. Well, he enters the insurance at the office.
Q. Hasn't the International Workers Order a headquarters, an office, a business office?
A. I guess it does.
Q. Where is that?
A. I don't know, sir.
Q. You say th policy is at your home?
A. The policy for myself and my wife is at my home.

Photostat-excerpt from the transcript of the Rosenberg Trial

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Madison, Wisc.

VINCENT HALLINAN will speak in Madison, Sat., Oct. 11, 7:30 p.m., at Eagles Hall. Auspices: Dane County Progressive Party of Wisconsin.

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By Howard Fast

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The life of a poet is not easy nor greatly rewarded in Mr. Truman's America. Kramer has somehow managed to publish the last several volumes of his verse himself; how, I for one do not know. In his latest book he has written the best and the most mature poetry of his young life. In the long, heroic title poem, he has taken from history a moment of pride and heroism that will be remembered as long as there are Negro people on this continent: the revolt of the slave Denmark Vesey. In each of the separate poems revolving around this incident he has changed cadence and rhythm, and used with tremendous skill and subtlety a new variation on the beautiful cadence of local speech.

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Time For No Comedy

(Sonnet for Charlie Chaplin)

CREED and decreed: life is no laughing matter!
Break it to bits, the cane shall twirl no more,
Hook not into solemnity's fat behind;
The battered derby become a lining for
A steel helmet encasing the leaden mind.

The waltzing hands, light-fingered feet to tatter
At nobody's mustache from now on; balloons
Shall not rise, outlaw the clown and the polka dot,
Spatter no rainbows, and down with crescent moons.
All question marks are henceforth to be shot.

Uncurved the world unmoving in unmirth.
Follow me flat over the edge of the rigid earth—
And wipe that silly smile off the face
Of the irrepressibly bouncing human race.

—Eve Merriam

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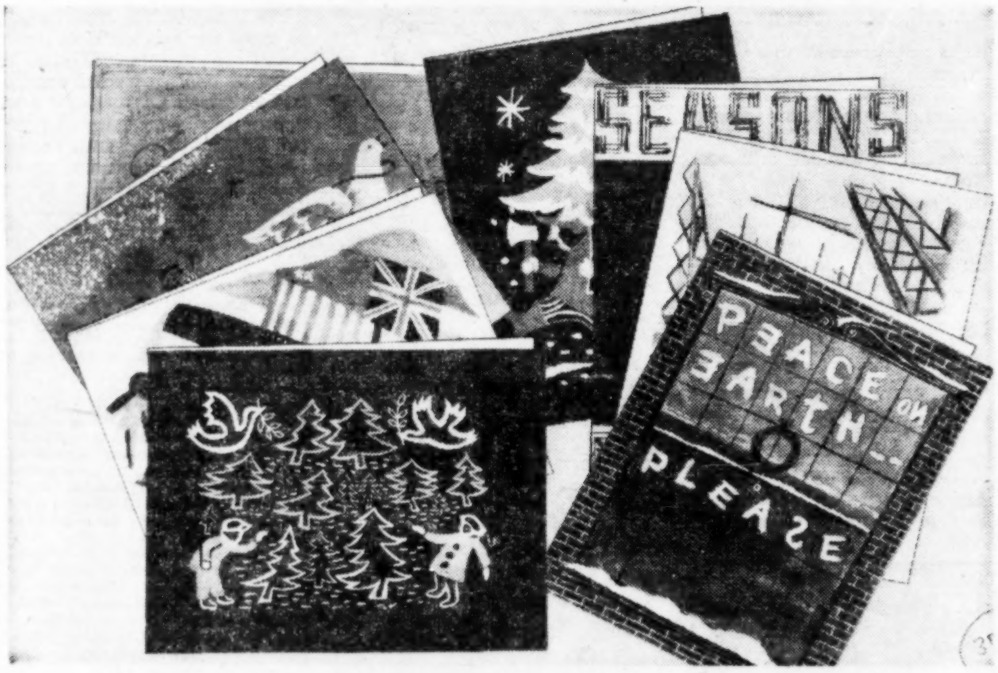

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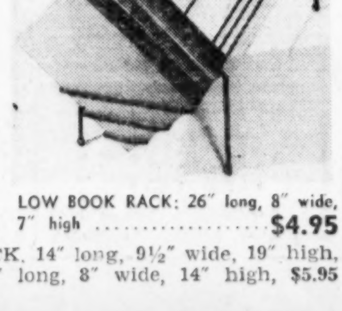

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CARL MARZANI'S "WE CAN BE FRIENDS"

The 'hate Russia' hoax—and how to end it

By Cedric Belfrage

CARL MARZANI
There was time to write

IN a foreword to Carl Marzani's history of the Cold War—"the conspiracy to involve this nation in a third World War"—Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois sketches the background of the book and its author. It was Marzani's distinction to be the first American political prisoner of the Cold War era. Raised in a poor working-class family of refugees from Mussolini, he had graduated from top U. S. and British universities and from service in the Spanish War, with militant trade unions and with World War II intelligence agencies. As a consistent progressive after all this, he was a prime candidate for jail where it was presumably hoped he would acquire the art of standing all the truth he knew on its head.

Instead, Marzani used his time in jail to collect the facts exposing the origin and nature of the Cold War which put him there. Only later could he consult sources like the GUARDIAN which have documented the Cold War stage by stage as it developed. But in jail he had access to "harmless" memoirs of and about such Cold War architects as Forrestal, Dulles, Byrnes, Harriman, Vandenberg and Truman. From these turgid volumes mostly good only for waste-paper, Marzani dug out priceless nuggets ("they sometimes slip and reveal the truth"), the logical evaluation of which makes his book the damning document it is.

THE INDICTMENT: "War scares are easy to create and are nearly sure-fire producers of money for more arms" (**U. S. News, 2/17/50**); "it has taken greater and greater defense expenditures just to hold business on an even keel" (**Journal of Commerce, 7/14/52**). Such admissions of the "why" of the Cold War by big business spokesmen are familiar to readers of the progressive press which methodically underlines them in their context. But few are even yet aware how early—long before Roosevelt's death—the deliberate drive began to reverse FDR's policies and enthrone super-profits over the corpses of truth, liberty and life itself.

The material Marzani has assembled from the most conservative sources reduces to hash the proposition, sold to most Americans, that "Russia started it." A month after FDR died, one of Truman's special assistants (Albert Z. Carr) recorded, there was already talk in the White House of a "complete diplomatic rupture" with the U. S. S. R. and of war being "not far off." The Soviets were given an ominous warning when in May, 1945—three months before they were according to agreement to enter the war against Japan—Lend-Lease to them was stopped.

A Sept., 1945, memorandum to Truman from War Secy. Stimson shows how accurately the Cold War gang were forewarned of the results of the Baruch "atomic control" plan, which was basic to their whole strategy. Even Vichyite Adm. Leahy admitted that the alleged Soviet reneging on the Yalta agreement on Poland was a sham. And it was former Secy. of State Hull who protested most bitterly against the "irreparable harm done" when, at UN's first meeting in San Francisco, the U. S. broke its pledged word over the admission of Argentina, clearly notifying our war ally that Washington had no intention of cooperation for peace.

DOMESTIC BLITZ: For the Cold Warriors the trouble was—as the press of the period abundantly attests—that the American people and fighting men in 1945 were for good reason friendly disposed toward the Russians. A propaganda blitz was necessary against the feelings and very intelligence of our people. The record shows that FDR's confidant Harry Hopkins was sent to Moscow, on the mission that bore fruit at Potsdam, only to avoid total breakdown of the new-born UN at a time when this would have revealed the Cold Warriors' hand before American public opinion was softened up. But just how far Truman's "free world" crusaders ever paid any mind to America's desire for friendship was indicated in 1945 by

- **Truman's remark before the first UN meeting, quote by Stettinius: "If the Russians did not wish to join us they could go to hell."**
- **Gen. "Hap" Arnold's conversation with British Air Marshal Portal at Potsdam, recorded by the former, about Russia being "our next enemy" and the necessity for "bases around the world [from which] we can reach any target."**
- **Secy. of State Byrnes' summing-up at Potsdam, quoted by Arnold :"What we must do now is not to make the world safe for democracy but make the world safe for the United States."**

SELF-WINDING WAR: The propaganda blitz into which the whole U. S. press was easily drawn by the paranoid Forrestal and his circle pictured Stalin as obstinately uncooperative and an "inscrutable enigma"; yet if there was one leading world statesman who said just what he meant, showing continued willingness to compromise but frank refusal to be a sucker, it was Stalin.

The final slap in war-devastated Russia's face was the announcement that its request for a $1 billion reconstruction loan had been "lost" in State Dept. files. From then on, the Cold War had a momentum of its own:

> **Since the Soviet Union countered every aggressive move of the U. S. with a defensive move, as for example on the Baruch Plan, this was utilized by reaction to build up the war psychosis by presenting the Soviet moves as aggressive.**

Yet the Cold War program has gone wrong at one step after another: "target dates" for a "showdown" have had to be passed by as a result of Soviet counter-moves; the domestic propaganda blitz has reduced American morale as it spread hysteria and fear; and among "allied" peoples hostility to U. S. political and economic dictatorship has steadily grown.

THE WAY OUT: The history of the cold war, Marzani points out, is the tragic and horrible story of two groups of capitalists and how the latter gained dominance over the former: the FDR kind who had enough faith in capitalism to let socialism compete with it peacefully, and the Forrestal-Harriman kind who show their lack of faith by seeking a solution through force. And yet as Marzani writes:

> **Nothing in the Soviet Union—nothing in politics, nothing in economics, nothing in philosophy, precludes peaceful co-existence. . . . Collective bargaining internationally will reduce world strife as it has reduced industrial strife at home.**

That is the way of sanity. How to set America's feet back on the road? Turn out the vote f[or] Hallinan and Bass next month for a start, says Marzani.

How to convince the average American—who, let us not forget, turned out four times in a row to vote for FDR's policy of peaceful construction and world friendship—to take this step as an alternative to bipartisan disaster? There is no better way than to bend your energies to making the average American you know sit down and read this magnificent book.

WE CAN BE FRIENDS, by Carl Marzani. Topical Books, 111 W. 88th St., N. Y. C. 24. 384 pp. Cloth, $3.50; paper, $1.

A Time for Greatness

By Ione Kramer

IN the early months of the Korean War the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) nobly served the cause of peace by outlining the disastrous fallacies of our foreign policy and posing alternatives in the pamphlet **Steps to Peace** (GUARDIAN, 5/2/51). Our debt to them is doubled now that they have clothed the same issues and alternatives with flesh and blood in a half-hour film, **A Time for Greatness.**

No open-minded person seeing this film could fail to be stirred by its simple, effective documentation that "our present policy is a tragic one which can only result in war." The complete horror of the Korean war is pictured in a series of well-chosen shots such as are never seen in U.S. newsreels. Tragic pictures of World War II destruction and concentration camps show why "Europe does not want war," and that

> **". . . the Asian revolution would be going on today even if Communism and the Soviet Union did not exist."**

From VJ-Day jubilation and the hope of the first UN session to a 1952 school air-raid drill, the film brings you with a thud to a realization of how the U. S. has changed around us into a land where "operation strangle" is "part of everyday speech."

NEGOTIATION IS NEGOTIATION: The Friends "refuse to believe there is no alternative to war," suggest "honest mutual negotiation with the objective of achieving not victory but peace," and that in the truce talks the U. S.

> **". . . stop announcing fixed positions . . . stop rejecting outright any proposals from the other side."**

Intended "only as a beginning"—to stimulate thought and discussion on the direction U. S. foreign policy is taking—this courageous film is accompanied by a guide to discussion and suggestions for formation of peace action groups. Given widespread circulation before many groups, it cannot but make a contribution to peace opinion. Too bad that it cannot be made "required seeing" for all concerned with forming American policy.

A TIME FOR GREATNESS, produced by American Friends Service Comm. 16 mm., running time 25 minutes. Rental $3 plus postage. Available from Association Films at: Broad at Elm St., Ridgefield, N. J.; 351 Turk St., San Francisco 2, Calif.; 79 E. Adams St., Chicago 3, Ill.; 1915 Live Oak St., Dallas 1, Texas.

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CORRECTION

In last week's issue the subscription price of Latin American Facts was listed at $2 per year. The correct price is $1 per year. Write Latin American Facts, 799 B'way, Rm. 636, N. Y. C. 3.

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